

# **EXHIBIT 15**

TRANSCRIPT

Texas Senate Special Committee on Redistricting  
September 25, 2021

Transcript Produced by Rebecca Farris

1 SENATOR HUFFMAN: The Senate Committee on  
2 Redistricting will come to order. We will call the roll  
3 later. I'd would like to welcome everyone to today's  
4 hearing where the committee will receive and consider  
5 input on proposed plans for the Texas Senate and State  
6 Board of Education districts. Today is the second  
7 opportunity for the public to provide input on Senate  
8 Bill 4 and Senate Bill 7. I, again, want to point out  
9 that the committee with will not be taking any action on  
10 the proposed plans before us today. Today's hearing is  
11 intended to provide another opportunity to hear and put  
12 on the proposed plans. Committee members and other  
13 senators will have the opportunity to ask questions of  
14 witnesses. As a remainder committee amendments are due  
15 to the committee by September 26 that Sunday at  
16 10:00 a.m. Legislative council is asking that committee  
17 amendments be submitted to them by 5:00 on September 25th  
18 in order for them to have sufficient time to process and  
19 produce the amendment packet. They will, however, do  
20 their best to process amendments submitted to them after  
21 that time. So we will work with you to try to get that  
22 done. At next week's hearing, we will vote on each  
23 amendment and the proposed plans before us today. So  
24 that's the process, and I will say we're here this  
25 morning. It is a Saturday morning. We do want to

1 accommodate as many people. We will hear who is here and  
2 then we will stand at ease if necessary to wait to see if  
3 others arrive and then we will conclude at an appropriate  
4 time when we kind of see when witnesses arrive. So with  
5 that, I'm going to ask Senator Hinojosa vice chair of the  
6 redistricting committee to chair since it's my  
7 legislation. Thank you.

8 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Good morning, everybody,  
9 and thank you, Madam Chair. Today we will continue  
10 listening and hearing and having the witnesses testify on  
11 Senate Bill 4, which is the senate redistricting bill and  
12 Senate Bill 7, the State Board of Education. And we will  
13 have as a resource witness Dr. Potter. Good seeing you  
14 again. And each witness will be limited to three  
15 minutes, and at this time, we will see how many witnesses  
16 have signed up to testify this morning. We also have  
17 Mr. Austin Kinghorn, the general counsel for the Office  
18 of the Attorney General as another resource witness in  
19 the event any member has any questions of these two  
20 individuals.

21 At this time, we'll stand at ease for a few  
22 minutes as we wait for witnesses to sign up by filling  
23 out the witness cards. So we'll just wait for a few  
24 minutes before we receive cards from the people up --  
25 signing the witnesses testifying.

1                   At this time, we will lay out Senate Bill 4  
2                   and Senate Bill 7 and start public testimony. This  
3                   morning I'll call three witnesses to please come down.  
4                   Jerry Hendrix from city of Kyle. Charlotte Harris from  
5                   Magnolia and David Albert from Austin. Good morning.

6                   CHARLOTTE HARRIS: Good morning.

7                   SENATOR HINOJOSA: You are -- you are our  
8                   first witness today.

9                   CHARLOTTE HARRIS: I'm honored. Maybe.

10                  SENATOR HINOJOSA: And please identify  
11                  yourself and who you represent. You have three minutes  
12                  and then you may proceed.

13                  CHARLOTTE HARRIS: Great. Thank you so much.  
14                  My name is Charlotte Riser Harris. I represent myself  
15                  and those in my community who are afraid to be involved.  
16                  I thank you for the opportunity to speak in opposition to  
17                  Senate Bill 4. I live in Magnolia, Montgomery County,  
18                  Senate District 4 -- or current Senate District 4.

19                  Throughout my life I've been an active  
20                  community leader. Although I have voted in every  
21                  election since I was 18, which was a long time ago, and I  
22                  have always been an informed voter, I have not been  
23                  politically active, choosing to be involved in community  
24                  instead. I can no longer be silent while I watch our  
25                  democracy be eroded bit by bit throughout the

1       United States and especially in the great state of Texas.  
2       Many people I know voice skepticism at our voting matters  
3       these days, much less testifying before a senate  
4       committee. Many have lost -- truly lost faith in our  
5       political system and our elected officials. I refuse to  
6       lose faith. Please prove the skeptics and cynics wrong.  
7       Show all of us that you as our representatives have your  
8       constituents as your number one priority and focus, not  
9       your re-elections. I also know people who have -- who  
10      have or are planning to move out of Texas. I choose to  
11      stay and fight. I do not believe the path Texas is on  
12      truly reflects who and what Texas is. I'm willing to  
13      help do what whatever it takes to change that. I'm not  
14      afraid and I have a responsibility to my children and my  
15      grandchildren and to all future generations to have my  
16      voice heard. This is about fairness. Texas is an  
17      incredible and diverse state. Diversity makes us  
18      stronger and better. Diversity in our local, state and  
19      national representation will better reflect our  
20      population and make Texas stronger and better. If you  
21      cannot be elected or re-elected without having to  
22      strategically draw voting lines to ensure you have a  
23      majority, then maybe that is not a true win. It  
24      certainly is not a moral or ethical path. I am very  
25      concerned about the division in our country, which is

1       also rampant in my state and my county. Gerrymandering  
2       causes further division, and these proposed redistricting  
3       maps are gerrymandering at the extreme and the intent is  
4       obvious to me. I urge this committee to design maps that  
5       comply with the Voting Rights Act. Be brave and do what  
6       is necessary to give a voice to every Texan no matter  
7       their race, how they vote, or where they live.

8                  One final point, unfair redistricting will be  
9       litigated, we all know that. There's a lot of litigation  
10      in the state of Texas right now over every single issue  
11      that comes out. I am appalled that our elected officials  
12      cannot or will not work together to draw fair district  
13      lines to save taxpayers millions of dollars in litigation  
14      costs. Please work together in an honest, fair, and  
15      transparent way as our public servants to draw lines that  
16      are fair to all Texans and give all Texans a vote. I  
17      sincerely thank you for the opportunity to be here today.

18                  SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you. We appreciate  
19      you coming forward and testifying before the committee.

20                  CHARLOTTE HARRIS: And thank you for your  
21      attention. I appreciate that.

22                  SENATOR HINOJOSA: Jerry Hendrix.  
23      David Albert. Just identify yourself, who you represent  
24      and then you may proceed. It would help if you take your  
25      mask off so we can hear clearly.

1 DAVID ALBERT: All right. I am  
2 Professor David Albert. Opposed to SB4. I live just a  
3 few miles from here in Montopolis in southeast Austin,  
4 and I am here to testify against Senator Huffman's Texas  
5 Senate map SB4.

6 I teach government at Austin Community College  
7 and in both of my U.S. and Texas government classes, I  
8 teach about gerrymandering, which is one of the issues  
9 that genuinely infuriates my students. My students, most  
10 of whom are minorities, want to believe in American  
11 democracy; but when they realize that instead of the  
12 voters choosing their elected officials, the elected  
13 officials choose their voters, they are genuinely  
14 horrified. I try to convince them that American  
15 democracy is worth fighting for, but I fear some are more  
16 disillusioned than inspired by that challenge. Most of  
17 the growth that has occurred in this state is minority  
18 communities, particularly in the Hispanic community.  
19 If -- if you are producing a just state map, a state  
20 senate map that will meet the standards of the  
21 Voting Rights Act, you should be drawing a plan with more  
22 minority opportunity districts, not less. In  
23 Tarrant County, the minority communities have grown  
24 immensely, yet you've drawn in the lines so that SD9, 10  
25 and 22 are all likely to be won by republicans with

1 minimal support from those minority communities. SD10 is  
2 likely to flip from democratic to republican. You've  
3 packed minorities in SD16 and 23 in Dallas while cracking  
4 the minority communities in Harris County so that they  
5 can't elect the leaders who represent their interests.  
6 Despite the massive growth of minority communities in  
7 Fort Bend County, you've cracked those communities to  
8 ensure that you can continue to elect republicans in SD17  
9 and 18. And my district is SD21 maintains the ridiculous  
10 shape where I'm represented by the wonderful  
11 Senator Zaffirini and while she is a stellar senator, she  
12 does live 250 miles away from me in Laredo. While  
13 Senator Eckhardt, for example, lives just a few miles  
14 away from me here in Austin. Of course, the minority  
15 communities are packed in Senate District 14 and 21 so  
16 that you can continue to preserve more suburban and rural  
17 districts in SD18 and 25 to elect republicans. The  
18 saddest part is that not one of these districts is likely  
19 to produce a competitive election in the 2022 election  
20 cycle. We know this map will very likely produce an  
21 increased 1912 republican majority in the Texas Senate.  
22 And my students are left to wonder if they are living in  
23 a real democracy or whether Texas is an oligarchy  
24 designed to protect the incumbents and expand the  
25 republican majority in a state that is increasingly

1           trending democratic. What do you think I should tell  
2           them? Is this a democracy or an oligarchy? And I'd love  
3           it if someone in support of this plan would address that  
4           question.

5                         SENATOR HINOJOSA: We appreciate your  
6           testimony. And you are testifying against Senate Bill 7  
7           and Senate Bill 4?

8                         DAVID ALBERT: Yes.

9                         SENATOR HINOJOSA: Senate Bill 7 being the  
10          senate redistricting bill and Senate Bill 4 -- I'm sorry,  
11          Senate Bill 4 being the senate redistrict bill.

12          Senate Bill 7 being with the State school board or the  
13          State Board of Education.

14                         DAVID ALBERT: Yes. I didn't prepare oral  
15          testimony on 7.

16                         SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you. We appreciate  
17          the testimony.

18                         DAVID ALBERT: All right. Thank you so much.  
19          Thank you, Senator.

20                         SENATOR HINOJOSA: Bill King, Mr. Bill King.  
21          Coming down from the gallery. Georgia Keysor. Coming  
22          down from the gallery. Stephanie Swanson, Stephanie  
23          Swanson.

24                         Please identify yourself, who you represent  
25          and whenever you're ready, you may proceed.

1 STEPHANIE SWANSON: I am Stephanie Swanson,  
2 the issue chair of redistricting for the League of Women  
3 Voters of Texas. I am also a leader in the Fair Maps  
4 Texas Coalition. Today I will be testifying as a member  
5 of and on behalf of the League of Women Voters of Texas  
6 against SB4. We appreciate the opportunity to appear  
7 before you today. Thank you for allowing us to share the  
8 League of Women Voters position on this bill.

9 Before I begin, I just want to say I have  
10 three documents being passed out. One is a copy of my  
11 written -- or my testimony that I'll be giving today.  
12 Another is a report from the League of Women Voters of  
13 Hays County. They have conducted community of interest  
14 mapping with community leaders across the county, and I  
15 have pulled some of those community of interest maps for  
16 you to review. Same with Comal County, the League of  
17 Women Voters of Comal County have also done the same.

18 I will be addressing some of the issues so far  
19 that I have seen unfold with this redistricting cycle.  
20 These public hearings are being held near five to six  
21 days after publication of the draft senate and State  
22 Board of Education map. That is not sufficient time for  
23 the general public who do not have access to Red Apple  
24 and all of its reports to access the maps and determine  
25 whether they are fair and abide by the constitutional or

1       federal law. There are genuine concerns about the  
2       constitutionality of these maps that appears, as in  
3       previous be cycles, there are patterns of packing and  
4       cracking of Black, Latinx, and AAPI communities across  
5       the state. By providing only a few days for the public  
6       to assess the maps, the legislature is sending a clear  
7       message that it is not interested in hearing the concerns  
8       of its constituents and merely going through the motions  
9       while moving full steam ahead with its own plans. The  
10      Chair's amendment was given to the public with even less  
11      time to analyze it. The Texas legislature, once again,  
12      appears to be disregarding the concerns and voices of the  
13      constituents it claims to serve.

14                  Next, I will be addressing some comments  
15      provided by Chair Huffman yesterday. Chair Huffman  
16      announced that these draft maps were drawn colorblind.  
17      That assertion is problematic for two reasons. First,  
18      drawing maps using race-blind criteria is not appropriate  
19      under the VRA. Racial and ethnic demographics are  
20      necessary to determine whether majority-minority  
21      districts or opportunity districts should be drawn under  
22      the VRA. Second, it is clear from even a cursory glance  
23      at the new districts that race was taken into account as  
24      many district lines seem to correspond with precincts  
25      with high percentages of voters of color. Thus, that

1 statement is plainly misleading or untrue. By failing to  
2 be transparent about the use of racial data, questions  
3 arise about how the data was used and for what reason.  
4 While racial data is necessary for VRA analysis, it is  
5 unconstitutional to use such data for racial  
6 gerrymandering or for intentional packing and cracking.  
7 Given the enormous increase in population amongst voters  
8 of color, simply maintaining representation for voters of  
9 color is grossly inadequate. SD9 in Tarrant County and  
10 SD17 in Fort Bend and Harris seems to be the most  
11 egregious examples of lowering the minority population to  
12 change political performance. We see familiar patterns  
13 in SD10 and SD8. There was likely the potential in these  
14 four sites to increase or maintain minority for  
15 representation and instead it was undermined. My last  
16 section is going to be on the citizen voting-age  
17 population data.

18 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Ms. Swanson, your time is  
19 up.

20 STEPHANIE SWANSON: Okay. Thank you.

21 SENATOR HINOJOSA: And we do have your written  
22 testimony and all the documents you submitted to the  
23 committee and we appreciate that.

24 STEPHANIE SWANSON: Thank you so much.

25 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Jerry Hendrix. Bill King.

1           Georgia Keysor. Dave Jones, Dave Jones. From the  
2           gallery coming down. Pam Durham. Up in the gallery.  
3           She's coming down.

4                         DAVE JONES: Good morning.

5                         SENATOR HINOJOSA: Good morning. Identify  
6           yourself, who you represent and then you may proceed.

7                         DAVE JONES: Thank you, Senator Hinojosa,  
8           appreciate it. My name is Dave Jones. I'm an attorney  
9           in Dallas. I'm a the president of a group called the  
10          Clean Elections Texas, a nonpartisan group. Clean  
11          Elections Texas is part of the Fair Maps Texas Coalition.  
12          I'm here representing myself and Clean Elections Texas  
13          and testifying against SB4. You heard a lot of excellent  
14          testimony yesterday. I was here for that. I'm not going  
15          to try to repeat much of what you've already heard. I  
16          listened yesterday as one person after another described  
17          how minority communities were being packed and cracked by  
18          SB4. You heard how 95 percent of the population  
19          increased over the last ten years in the Texas has come  
20          from people of color, yet somehow SB4 manages to not  
21          clearly offer any new districts to give those over  
22          3 million additional residents an opportunity to elect  
23          representatives of their choice. I am a little out of  
24          breath from running down the stairs. I heard  
25          Chair Huffman say the maps were drawn essentially in a

1 colorblind way. In a state as diverse as Texas, the  
2 Constitution of the United States, the 14 and 15th  
3 Amendment and the Voting Rights Act, don't permit that  
4 kind of willful blindness. The voting power, the ability  
5 of persons of color to elect representatives of their  
6 choice has to be considered to make sure that the power  
7 is not diluted, that voting power is not diluted by the  
8 way district lines are drawn. If this committee was not  
9 aware until yesterday that SB4 abridges the voting power  
10 of persons of color, you are on notice now. It is has  
11 been described to you in specific detail by a number of  
12 witnesses, and I am sure there will be even more today.  
13 So if you proceed with a map like SB4 without protecting  
14 the constitutional and statutory rights of persons of  
15 color, it will be fair to presume that you have done so  
16 intentionally. But I am still hoping you don't. And no  
17 map has been voted out of this committee yet. Maps can  
18 be amended. Please take into account the substantial  
19 minority population of the state, take into account the  
20 95 percent of population growth that has come from  
21 persons of color. Do your duty to uphold the  
22 Constitution and the laws of this country to protect  
23 those constitutionally protected communities.

24 A couple of other things. Don't hide behind  
25 legalistic claims of attorney-client privilege. If you

1 have learned factual information from counsel that's  
2 relevant to the fairness of these maps, we all should  
3 know those facts. We need to know the legal basis upon  
4 which the committee is determining how to draw districts.  
5 Whether we learn that from the committee, from the chair  
6 or not, it doesn't have to be the words exactly of  
7 counsel, but we need to know the legal basis upon which  
8 you're making those decisions. Also, it's not  
9 unreasonable for the voters to expect a written detailed  
10 explanation district by district and as a whole  
11 describing how any map meets those legal requirements.  
12 And I would ask, respectfully, that you provide us with  
13 one. SB4 is all about representatives -- as it's written  
14 now is all about representatives picking their voters  
15 rather than voters picking their representatives. If it  
16 is enacted --

17 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Please wrap it up. Your  
18 time is up.

19 DAVE JONES: All right. If I could just close  
20 for just a second.

21 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Close.

22 DAVE JONES: In my opinion, the current way  
23 this is written in -- it is written in a way that  
24 disadvantages those voters in the cruelest and most  
25 un-American way by diluting the statewide voting power of

1                   minority voters, effectively disenfranchising a huge  
2                   percentage of the African American, Latino, and Asian  
3                   voters of this state. Thank you.

4                   SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you. We appreciate  
5                   your testimony, sir.

6                   DAVE JONES: Thank you.

7                   SENATOR HINOJOSA: Pam Durham. Identify  
8                   yourself, who you represent and then you may proceed.  
9                   You have three minutes.

10                  PAM DURHAM: Thank you. To the Chair,  
11                  Vice Chair and distinguished committee members. I'm  
12                  Pam Durham. I testified first before this committee on  
13                  September 11 before the maps were released this week and  
14                  amended a little more than 36 hours ago. I've prepared  
15                  written testimony which includes the details, so I'm  
16                  going to summarize my concerns and let you know that I am  
17                  not in favor. I am against SB4 or the newly amended --  
18                  newly amended amendment.

19                  I'm thunderstruck by these proposed maps. I  
20                  listened to all the public testimony at the committee's  
21                  previous two weeks ago and yesterday. I just don't  
22                  understand how these maps could be presented when the  
23                  majority of the public testimony directed this committee  
24                  to protect minority coalition interests, to adhere to the  
25                  Voting Rights Act and to protect our communities of

1 interest with compact districts. I have lived in the  
2 inner city historic neighborhoods of the south side of  
3 Fort Worth and SD10 for 37 years. I also own two homes  
4 with my brothers in Tarrant County. One is on  
5 North Richland Hills where we grew up and graduated from  
6 Richland High School and the second home is our  
7 Lake Barzos. It's been in our family for nearly  
8 75 years. My parents were one of the original  
9 White flight families when they got married and started  
10 their family that moved to North Richland Hills.  
11 White flight, as you know, was to interrupt the  
12 immigration of the public schools in the inner cities.  
13 Richland High School, also known as the Richland Rebels,  
14 had less than a dozen students of color in my class of  
15 500, but the demographics have changed, yet Richland  
16 High School did not change their Rebel mascot until this  
17 last year. All this to say is I am intimately familiar  
18 with Senate District 9, 12, and 11. I will not bore you  
19 with any more facts. I want to let you know that I have  
20 included a -- that you have heard many times over the  
21 last 24 hours that SD10 is a minority coalition  
22 opportunity district that was established by the courts  
23 in 2011. You've also been told that the current Senate  
24 District 10 is near perfect ideal population and there is  
25 no need to change its district boundaries. However, in

1       the interest of fairness, I have -- I have drawn a map  
2       which is included in your packet which evenly divides the  
3       population between Senate District 10 and  
4       Senate District 9 and leaves a portion out for that  
5       extra -- that we are entitled -- that we are not entitled  
6       to by population in the northeast corner. These maps  
7       were drawn to eliminate the northern portion of Senate  
8       District 10 and give that to Senate District 9 and then  
9       extends into District 9 around to the western border of  
10      Tarrant County. And then Senate District 10  
11     eliminates -- picks up the portion of Senate District 22  
12     in the southeastern corner and maintains the core of  
13     its -- its population. Thus providing one  
14     minority-majority district definitively and one Anglo  
15     population district definitively all contained within the  
16     boundaries of Tarrant County.

17                   SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you for your  
18     testimony, ma'am. Your time is up.

19                   PAM DURHAM: Thank you very much.

20                   SENATOR HINOJOSA: And we'll consider your map  
21     as submitted to the committee.

22                   PAM DURHAM: I appreciate that. It was very  
23     difficult to have that come out -- with maps coming  
24     out -- proposed maps on Monday and not having access to  
25     Red Apple until Wednesday or Thursday and then to be here

1       on Saturday. It's been very difficult, and this is not a  
2       very timely procedure.

3                     SENATOR HINOJOSA: We --

4                     PAM DURHAM: I would appreciate having another  
5       public hearing for the amendments.

6                     SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you.

7                     PAM DURHAM: Thank you.

8                     SENATOR HINOJOSA: Senator Powell, would you  
9       like to testify now.

10                  SENATOR POWELL: Yes. Thank you, Chair  
11       Hinojosa and members of the committee. I am before you  
12       today as the state senator of District 10. It has been  
13       the greatest honor of my life to serve Tarrant County as  
14       their senator. That honor is enriched and amplified by  
15       the knowledge that I am the candidate of choice in a  
16       majority-minority district where Blacks, Hispanics, Asian  
17       and other minority voters unite and organized to elect  
18       their candidates of choice. District 10 is firmly  
19       established as a minority coalition crossover district  
20       where its citizens are protected by the Voting Rights Act  
21       and the United States Constitution. The proposed map  
22       intentionally, unnecessarily, and illegally destroys the  
23       voting strength of District 10's minority citizens. The  
24       same attack on the voting rights of minority citizens in  
25       District 10 was launched ten years ago, and it was ruled

1 by the federal courts to constitute intentional  
2 discrimination in violation of the law. The findings of  
3 fact made by that Court have never been overruled or even  
4 substantively rebutted. With respect to the time limits  
5 on testimony, I have submitted my written testimony to  
6 the committee today with more details and two maps, which  
7 I will discuss shortly.

8 Let me begin with a brief discussion on the  
9 current district. I will remind you that witnesses from  
10 Tarrant County testified that we should leave this  
11 district intact in testimony both yesterday and in  
12 hearings prior to the beginning of the third called  
13 session. Why is there no reason to change the  
14 boundaries? The 2020 census reveals that  
15 Senate District 10 is just 5,318 persons beyond the  
16 ideal. Less than 1 percent deviation, closer than all  
17 but three other senate districts and well within that  
18 allowed deviation. I made this point to the Chairman  
19 when we met to discuss the proposed -- the first proposed  
20 map. So why did Senate District 10 change so  
21 dramatically? Why is it now overpopulated by 21,942  
22 citizens? Four times as much as it currently is. Why  
23 have eight rural counties been added to the proposal?  
24 Well, I can tell you why. It's because voters of color  
25 throughout Senate District 10 have continued to unite

1       with repeated success to elect candidates of their  
2       choice. I've attached a map today that completely  
3       restores SD10 to its original boundaries. So now turning  
4       back to the proposed map, it targets Tarrant County's  
5       Hispanic population with a jagged gash from east to west  
6       just below Interstate 30. This gash breaks apart the  
7       historic north side Hispanic community and the south side  
8       Hispanic community. The splitting of the district along  
9       that line from east to west also moved neighborhoods  
10      along the Lancaster Corridor from the majority-minority  
11      District 10 into an Anglo-dominated SD9, which is  
12      anchored in the Tarrant County northern suburbs. In  
13      total, the proposal moves over 133,000 people who live  
14      north of that jagged gash into SD9 now. This population  
15      is -- of 133,000 is less than 30 percent Anglo. The  
16      proposed plan then submerges historic and growing  
17      African American neighborhoods into a rural  
18      Anglo-controlled district that spans over 100 miles west  
19      towards Abilene. These neighborhoods include Polly,  
20      Stop 6, Echo Heights, Worth Heights, Morningside,  
21      Forest Hill, Everman, Meadow Creek and more  
22      neighborhoods. These are well established and historic  
23      minority communities. Then to the east the proposed map  
24      shoves a crooked billy club north from the  
25      Anglo-controlled and rural-based District 22 up through

1 Mansfield and into East Arlington. The plan splits  
2 Mansfield, a rapidly growing city where over 60 percent  
3 of the residents of that community are Texans of colors.  
4 The city is literally torn apart. The eastern precincts  
5 in that city make up about 60 percent of Mansfield's  
6 population are submerged into District 22 that ranges as  
7 far south as past Waco. The western precincts of  
8 Mansfield with the remaining 40 percent of the growing  
9 city are tacked on to a reconfigured District 10 and made  
10 part of an Anglo-controlled district where voters in far  
11 off Cleburne, Mineral Wells or Brownwood would dictate  
12 the election choices.

13 Members, the intention of this map is clear.  
14 Tear apart minority communities, submerge minority voters  
15 in rural and suburban Anglo districts, and thus deny  
16 voters of color the ability to elect the candidates of  
17 their choice. Yet, we have continued to be told that  
18 race was not a factor in drawing of this map. That race  
19 was never considered.

20 I submitted shade maps reflecting  
21 Tarrant County's minority population to the Chairman in  
22 my meetings previewing the first proposed map. I have  
23 included those with my written testimony here today, and  
24 I have previously sent them by e-mail to every senator on  
25 Saturday, September the 18th. This committee also heard

1 from witnesses from Tarrant County in early 2021 and  
2 again weeks ago describing exactly where African  
3 American, Hispanic, and Asian Americans live. To say  
4 that the racial makeup of SD10 or any district in the  
5 state of Texas was not known is simply not a credible  
6 statement. There are no excuses and nothing to shield  
7 the discriminatory intent and the effect of this proposed  
8 map that we saw on Friday night at 9:00. In the face of  
9 repeated demonstrations of minority voting strength in  
10 District 10, the effort now to destroy District 10 as a  
11 majority-minority coalition crossover district is  
12 repeating the same intentional and illegal racial  
13 discrimination of the federal -- that the federal courts  
14 condemned ten years ago.

15 It is my hope today that the committee will  
16 hear the voices of my constituents who have testified  
17 over and over again both by Zoom meeting and here in  
18 Austin who are -- in addition, more to testify today made  
19 the long drive to Austin to do so. They have all  
20 demanded that Senate District 10 be restored.  
21 Madam Chairman and members, this is personal to the  
22 people of Tarrant County. They want to preserve their  
23 ability to have their voices heard in the elections  
24 across the state of Texas. Thank you so much for  
25 allowing me the grace to complete my testimony.

1 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Senator Powell, is it your  
2 request to the Senate that the boundaries of  
3 Senate District 10 remain the same?

4 SENATOR POWELL: Yes, it is.

5 SENATOR HINOJOSA: You described neighborhoods  
6 in the northern part of your district that are being  
7 shaved off into a district to the north. I believe you  
8 mentioned Latino-dominated communities. Can you walk me  
9 through these communities? Can you also discuss  
10 communities of interest that might be cracked off from  
11 this heavily Hispanic part of your current district?

12 SENATOR POWELL: Yes, I can. Thank you for  
13 the opportunity to talk about this. There is a Hispanic  
14 community in the north side area of Fort Worth. In fact,  
15 the portion of my district that runs along Main Street up  
16 through North Fort Worth and into the stockyards, the  
17 historic stockyards of Fort Worth is a predominantly  
18 Hispanic neighborhood. And then you will recall some  
19 testimony from yesterday, which had talked about La Gran  
20 Plaza to the south. It's a mall that I watched as child  
21 being constructed. My grandparents lived across the  
22 street from the mall, and it was -- they drained a lake  
23 and built this beautiful mall that at the time serviced  
24 probably a largely Anglo population. And over the years,  
25 that neighborhood has become more and more and more a

1 Hispanic neighborhood. And so what we have done now is  
2 to take a predominantly Hispanic neighborhood to the  
3 north and we have cracked it right in half and separated  
4 those coalition of voters from one another. They  
5 consistently join together and organize to elect their  
6 voters, to elect their representatives of choice. That  
7 vote will now be cut in half.

8 SENATOR HINOJOSA: On a similar matter, I  
9 believe you mentioned predominantly African American  
10 communities that are being placed in a district that  
11 expands more rural areas to the west. Could you further  
12 explain these communities in your current senate district  
13 that are being placed in a more rural part of the state?

14 SENATOR POWELL: If -- I have served in  
15 different capacities in Fort Worth. One of the things  
16 that I've done over time is that I have served as the  
17 Chairman of the Board and a trustee for Texas Wesleyan  
18 University, which is located right in the center of  
19 probably the largest minority African American population  
20 in our region. Stop 6, Polly, Forest Hill, Everman, a  
21 large portion of East Fort Worth, some of those will be  
22 submerged with Senate District 9 to the north and the  
23 balance of those that remain will now be submerged with a  
24 district -- with a reconfigured Senate District 10 that  
25 goes as far to the west nearly as Abilene and as far to

1       the south as Brown -- Brownwood. And so what we see now  
2       is that that district -- those voters from those historic  
3       African American communities will be submerged with Anglo  
4       populations, and their votes will be diluted and their  
5       voices will no longer be heard. They will not have the  
6       opportunity in the face of that -- of having been  
7       submerged into those other districts be able to have  
8       their voices heard.

9                     SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you for answering my  
10      questions. Senator Zaffirini.

11                    SENATOR ZAFFIRINI: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.  
12      Senator Powell, you spent a lot of time talking about  
13      Mansfield. Yesterday I asked the mayor of Mansfield  
14      about communities of interest, and specifically I asked  
15      him about shared interest with Arlington and southeast  
16      Fort Worth. First, do you agree with his comments; and,  
17      second, will you expand upon the shared-community  
18      interest among Mansfield and other communities in  
19      Senate District 10?

20                   SENATOR POWELL: I do absolutely agree with  
21      Mayor Evans. And I think it's important to note here  
22      that Mayor Evans is the first African American mayor ever  
23      elected to the Mansfield City Council. I think it's also  
24      important to note that the Mansfield school district  
25      stretches far and wide across portions of Arlington,

1 portions of Mansfield, and then even into areas towards  
2 Kennedale. That tells you that that area is merging  
3 together to elect their voters, their representatives of  
4 choice. Commissioner Devan Allen is the first -- not the  
5 first African American women elected to the commissioners  
6 court, but the first African American elected to serve in  
7 the Arlington and Mansfield area. That is a burgeoning  
8 center for commerce in Arlington to the southwestern  
9 side, and you can no longer tell when you drive along 157  
10 when you leave Mansfield and when you enter Arlington.  
11 Because of their school district and because of their  
12 centers of commerce, they are highly merged together.

13 SENATOR ZAFFIRINI: What do the newly added  
14 rural counties to the west, Brown, Callahan, Shackelford,  
15 Stephens, Young and Palo Pinto have in common with part  
16 of Tarrant County that remains in Senate District 10?

17 SENATOR POWELL: Well, I think I would -- I  
18 would echo the words of Judge Sergio De Leon from  
19 yesterday. In Fort Worth, Texas, we don't hang out at  
20 the feed store. We don't bale hay and we don't -- and in  
21 Tarrant County, we don't necessarily raise many cattle,  
22 and we don't have farming operations anymore. We've  
23 become -- Fort Worth is the 12th largest city in the  
24 nation. We have very little in common with folks to the  
25 west, with Brownwood, with Cleburne even anymore. We're

1       highly economically driven, economically -- development  
2       driven in our region, and we're driven by tourism and  
3       travel and entertainment. Those are not the same issues  
4       that people in Brownwood or Abilene or the cities out to  
5       the west would be concerned with. And I think that's  
6       probably the largest difference.

7                     SENATOR ZAFFIRINI: Thank you so much. We  
8       heard several witnesses -- many witnesses, in fact, say  
9       that this configuration for Senate District 10 was  
10      illegal. Do you agree with that?

11                  SENATOR POWELL: I absolutely agree that it's  
12      a violation of the Voting Rights Act and it's a violation  
13      of the intent of our Constitution.

14                  SENATOR ZAFFIRINI: But on the other hand,  
15      those who support this configuration say that legal  
16      authority has said that it is legal, that it does comply  
17      with the Voting Rights Act. What is your perspective on  
18      that?

19                  SENATOR POWELL: Well, I look back to the  
20      federal court decisions for Senate District 10 ten years  
21      ago. They ruled this sort of an attempt as an  
22      unconstitutional violation of people's voting rights.  
23      And I contend that it is the same kind of  
24      disenfranchisement of our citizens of color, our Black  
25      and Brown citizens and our Asian citizens. And I would

1 contend to you that over and over and over again during  
2 these deliberations we've heard the same testimony from  
3 our witnesses, many of whom are elected officials, who  
4 have been placed into office by those coalitions of  
5 voters.

6 SENATOR ZAFFIRINI: Thank you so much,  
7 Senator Powell. You certainly do a really good job  
8 representing your district.

9 SENATOR POWELL: Thank you, Senator Zaffirini.  
10 It has been a privilege --

11 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you, Senator Powell,  
12 for your testimony.

13 SENATOR POWELL: Thank you.

14 SENATOR HINOJOSA: I will call some more  
15 witnesses to testify, and then at some point I think  
16 Senator Alvarado would wish to ask some questions to  
17 Dr. Potter. I'll call them after our next group of  
18 witnesses. Anybody else that wishes to ask questions of  
19 Dr. Potter? He is here as a resource witness.  
20 Georgia Keysor. Georgia Keysor. Just identify yourself,  
21 who you represent and then you may proceed.

22 GEORGIA KEYSOR: Okay. I'm Georgia Keysor  
23 representing myself speaking on SB4. But instead of  
24 theorizing about what weaponized gerrymandering will do  
25 to Texas, let's look at what weaponized gerrymandering

1 has done to our great state of Texas. Texas is number  
2 one in child deaths from COVID with over 300 Texas  
3 children currently hospitalized. Bodies are being  
4 stacked like cord wood in morgue trucks borrowed from the  
5 Biden administration. This past Thursday alone, 463  
6 Texans died of COVID. Texas schools have unmasked more  
7 than 50,000 confirmed COVID cases in kids in just two  
8 weeks. More than a dozen school districts have closed  
9 while our governor feuds with schools that are just  
10 trying to keep our kids alive. Today we have over 40,000  
11 Texas students home from school due to COVID and  
12 shutdowns in 45 school districts. Weaponized  
13 gerrymandering has created a grim reality for Texas  
14 children. One in four lives in poverty. We are number  
15 one in uninsured children at 1.4 million. Texas ranks  
16 the 15th most dangerous state for rape and sexual assault  
17 according to FBI statistics. Every two hours a Texan  
18 commits suicide, the second leading cause of death for  
19 people aged 15 to 34. Thirty-six states have lower crime  
20 rates than Texas. We're dead last in healthcare access  
21 and affordability. Thirty-fifth in Pre-K through 12  
22 education. Second highest rate of teen pregnancy. Dead  
23 last in mental healthcare. Thirty-seventh in poverty.  
24 Fifth in maternal mortality. Forty-seventh for  
25 protecting children from poverty and hunger during COVID.

1       Forty-first in child welfare foster care. Dead last in  
2       the number of insured adults. Second only to California  
3       in COVID deaths, but we are gaining on them. And  
4       Governor Abbott and this legislative body has closed more  
5       hospitals than any other state ever. Nobody thought you  
6       could do it. Don't forget that Abbott's great power fail  
7       slammed businesses large and small and killed over 600  
8       including 11-year-old Christian Pineda who froze to death  
9       in his own damn bed. But we can overlook these -- this  
10      trivia and brag about our great economy. Actually, no,  
11      we can't. From June 2019 to June 2020 Texas led the  
12      nation in Chapter 11 filings and more Texas corporations  
13      filed for bankruptcy during the first six months of 2020  
14      than ever before. I am asking you to honor the oath you  
15      took on the Holy Bible, and I am telling you that Texas  
16      deserves better. Thank you for your time.

17                     SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you, Ms. Keyser, for  
18                     your testimony. Jerry Hendrix. Jerry Hendrix.

19                     JERRY HENDRIX: Chairman Hinojosa and  
20                     committee members and everybody in the room, thank you  
21                     for being here on a Saturday morning. Thank you for  
22                     hearing our testimony. My name is Jerry Hendrix. I'm an  
23                     assistant city manager for the city of Kyle. And I am  
24                     here to basically talk about three concerns we have with  
25                     the map as it's currently drawn, and I'd like to first

1 state that I am here professionally representing the city  
2 of Kyle. I have no political agenda. I'm not talking  
3 democrats or republicans. I just want to voice our  
4 concerns about the current map.

5 First concern is that we're split between two  
6 districts, District 19 to the west of 35 through Kyle,  
7 District 21 to the east in Kyle. We are on the tail end  
8 of both these districts, that is a small swath going  
9 north from the bulk of the districts that is barely  
10 contiguous to the rest of the districts, these small  
11 swaths of land to our south. So we are concerned about  
12 how well we'll be represented being so far removed from  
13 the bulk of our districts.

14 Our second concern is that for the most part  
15 we associate legislatively and most of what we do with  
16 Travis County, the city of Austin, a large part of our  
17 population drives into Austin every day to do their jobs  
18 and comes back home to Kyle. More and more we're seeing  
19 people from Austin drive into Kyle to take advantage of  
20 our growing economy and all the jobs that we're creating.  
21 So it would be really helpful to us and beneficial to  
22 everything that we're doing both towards our economic  
23 growth in northern Hays County and with the growth of our  
24 population to be in a district that's more associated  
25 with communities to the north including Austin and

1                   Travis County.

2                   Third, we're concerned that the districts  
3                   physically are divided by the most part by Interstate 35.  
4                   We've worked very hard in Kyle over the past few years to  
5                   really bridge the gaps and perception of division of an  
6                   east Kyle and a west Kyle. And we would really hate to  
7                   see a political barrier added to the great physical  
8                   barrier that we're already having to deal with and  
9                   address with our population and new businesses coming to  
10                  Kyle.

11                  Lastly, I'd just like to say that we've always  
12                  enjoyed a positive and professional and productive  
13                  relationship with all elected officials regardless of  
14                  what side of the aisle that they're on and we're  
15                  dedicated to continue that relationship. And we hope  
16                  that as you consider revisions of this map, that you'll  
17                  take these three concerns into account. Keep Kyle  
18                  politically in a district as a whole city, move us into a  
19                  district that more closely associates with Austin so that  
20                  our constituents and our residents aren't divided that  
21                  way because a lot of them associate with Austin. And we  
22                  really appreciate your time for you being here, and I am  
23                  available for any questions if you have any.

24                  SENATOR HINOJOSA: Every time I drive by and  
25                  through Kyle, it's amazing growth that has taken place.

1                   JERRY HENDRIX: We are doing lots of great  
2 things in Kyle, and we thank the State for all they do to  
3 help in bringing the businesses and the economy, and I'm  
4 very proud to be associated with the city of Kyle.

5                   SENATOR HINOJOSA: Senator Huffman.

6                   SENATOR HUFFMAN: Yes. Thank you for being  
7 here, sir. I want to ask you a question and I just ask  
8 it because we hear this a lot, and I'm curious about the  
9 answer. You seem like the perfect person to ask the  
10 question to because you are not here on any kind of  
11 partisan agenda at all, clearly, and really just  
12 concerned about your city. I've often wondered because  
13 we hear that sometimes, and I hear your concerns, and I'm  
14 not trying to minimize your concerns. It's more of a  
15 curious question. And that is do cities like yours ever  
16 feel like they might get more representation if they had  
17 two senators representing them or why is it that you feel  
18 one is better? Is it because you feel like you get more  
19 attention? It's just I often ask that question because  
20 many times when you have two senators represent you, then  
21 you have two advocates, you have two more votes on the  
22 finance committee maybe or in the chamber, so I wonder do  
23 you ever think of it that way? And again, I'm not trying  
24 to be confrontational at all. I'm just curious. And you  
25 seem like a good person to ask.

1                   JERRY HENDRIX: And we do, we appreciate  
2 having more than one voice. In the current setup,  
3 however, we're very far removed at the northern tip of  
4 the district we're assigned to.

5                   SENATOR HUFFMAN: Okay.

6                   JERRY HENDRIX: So we are not opposed to  
7 having two. We'd welcome two. And if we are going to  
8 have two, we would like for that division be along  
9 different lines other than Interstate 35.

10                  SENATOR HUFFMAN: And that's because of your  
11 concerns of how it's dividing east and west?

12                  JERRY HENDRIX: Sure. And we would like those  
13 districts to be more associated with the communities to  
14 the north, which is where our residents and businesses  
15 more associate with.

16                  SENATOR HUFFMAN: Thank you very much for  
17 answering my questions.

18                  JERRY HENDRIX: Thank you for asking.

19                  SENATOR HUFFMAN: Thank you.

20                  SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you for your  
21 testimony. Bill King. Bill King.

22                  BILL KING: Good morning. Thank you and  
23 committee members who are here and staff maybe. My name  
24 is Bill King. I'm a retired judge. I was a judge for  
25 23 years and a lawyer before that. And I'm not saying

1       that because my testimony is special, I'm just saying  
2       that to say I'm used to living and working in systems  
3       that are fair. When people come to court, they don't  
4       want the outcome to be predetermined. They want all the  
5       sides to be listened to. They want the judge to not  
6       favor one side over the other ahead of time. I think  
7       that Texans in general will deserve nothing less in their  
8       political system. Texas grew by -- and you've had the  
9       demographer, my numbers are all estimates and stuff,  
10      roughly 4 million people in the last ten years. Roughly  
11      three and a half of those were not White. They were  
12      people of color. The vast majority of those live in  
13      urban areas. I think five counties account for almost  
14      half of the population growth. We're happy to have  
15      people move to Texas and work in our factories and work  
16      in our restaurants and pay taxes, educate their kids here  
17      and teach in the universities. We're happy to have them  
18      here, but apparently we're not happy to give them their  
19      fair share of the political say. These maps unfairly --  
20      I'll just put it like that -- unfairly increase the power  
21      of older White rural areas. When Texas is increasingly,  
22      overwhelmingly -- the population growth is younger,  
23      non-White, urban dwellers -- I don't know how anyone can  
24      perceive that to be fair. And if people don't perceive  
25      it to be fair, they won't participate in the political

1 process. Maybe that's the intent. I don't know. But  
2 the result is we already have one of lowest voting rates  
3 in the country because people think who gives a damn.  
4 Why bother. There's no point in doing this if these  
5 outcomes are rigged ahead of time for certain people  
6 and/or certain parties, either way. All I'm asking for  
7 is fairness. And this map, any of the maps proposed that  
8 I've seen so far don't come close. Thank you.

9 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you, Judge King, for  
10 your testimony. Ruby Faye Woolridge. Identify yourself,  
11 who you represent and then you may proceed. You have  
12 three minutes.

13 RUBY FAYE WOOLRIDGE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.  
14 My name is Ruby Faye Woolridge, and I was elected to the  
15 Arlington City Council at-large in November 2020. I have  
16 been active in the Arlington and Tarrant County community  
17 for more than 37 years, and I've run for office numerous  
18 times. In 2020, I along with other African American  
19 candidates in eastern and southeastern Tarrant County,  
20 were elected because African American, Latino, and Asian  
21 American voters came together to elect candidates of  
22 their choice. In Arlington, I am now one of three  
23 African American members of the Arlington City Council  
24 made up of eight members and one mayor. Arlington is one  
25 of most diverse cities in America. We have a thriving

1 Asian population, a growing Hispanic, and African  
2 American population as well. We were named the 8th most  
3 diverse city in America by Wallace Hubb this past April.  
4 Despite our growing diversity and the clear power that  
5 voters of color have in state and local elections in the  
6 Arlington area, some are intentionally trying to silence  
7 our voices. I live in Texas Senate District 10 and  
8 Beverly Powell is my senator. And I've lived in this  
9 district for 37 years. Unfortunately, Arlington's  
10 minority populations are already fractured into multiple  
11 senate districts to intentionally dilute our voices. The  
12 proposed map continues this sad, intentional fracturing  
13 that makes matters even worse by submerging our voters  
14 into not one but two mostly rural districts anchored in  
15 counties hundreds of miles away. Under the proposed map  
16 and under the amendments offered, much Arlington will be  
17 relegated to districts that span south of Waco and east  
18 toward Abilene. Parts of Texas Senate District 22 are  
19 already in the south and take parts of Arlington's  
20 minority population south of Interstate 30. Under the  
21 proposal today, Senate District 22 would come even  
22 further into our community like a crooked billy club all  
23 the way through north to the mid cities. This subjects  
24 even more of our community to being represented by  
25 candidates chosen by those in Waco, Hood County and other

1       rural areas. In total, almost 200 -- 200,000 Arlington  
2       residents are drawn into District 22 and nearly 150,000  
3       are African Americans, Latino, or Asian Americans. To  
4       make matters worst, the new map places nearly 125,000  
5       Arlington voters to the west in a Senate District 10 that  
6       is decimated by adding eight rural counties. This  
7       portion of Arlington cracked into the new SD10 has 51,502  
8       residents that are African American, Latino, or  
9       Asian American. In total, that's over 200,000 voters of  
10      color left without a voice. While not in Arlington,  
11      another feature of the proposed map that bothers me is  
12      how Fort Worth's African American population is relegated  
13      to eight rural districts. For years I worked at the  
14      Fort Worth Independent School District. Specifically, I  
15      worked as a counselor at Dunbar High School, which is one  
16      of Fort Worth's most historical African American  
17      high schools in the Stop 6 neighborhood. This community  
18      outside of Arlington is one of my favorite communities in  
19      Tarrant County. I remember the kind, hard-working  
20      families who proudly called this community their home. I  
21      find it absolutely offensive, appalling, and outwardly  
22      hostile that this historic Black neighborhood along with  
23      the surrounding Black neighborhoods in southeast  
24      Fort Worth are being diluted with rural White voters  
25      130 miles west towards Abilene, Texas.

1 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Please wrap it up.

2 RUBY FAYE WOOLRIDGE: Thank you, sir, I shall.

3 Thank you. What is the purpose? Who are minority voters  
4 in Tarrant County supposed to go to when we need help on  
5 issues dealing with affordable housing, good schools, and  
6 criminal justice reform. No offense, however, but when  
7 the new SD10 with eight counties, but I don't see them  
8 focussing on issues that matter the most to Stop 6, the  
9 north side Fort Worth and Arlington. I want to thank you  
10 for this time, and I hope this committee rethinks their  
11 plan and restores our voice in Austin. Thank you again.

12 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you very much. We  
13 appreciate your testimony.

14 RUBY FAYE WOOLRIDGE: Thank you. I am here  
15 for any questions you might have.

16 SENATOR HINOJOSA: No, ma'am, there are none  
17 right now.

18 RUBY FAYE WOOLRIDGE: Okay. All right.

19 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Jane Hughson. Hughson.  
20 How do I pronounce that correctly?

21 JANE HUGHSON: It's Hughson. Good morning.  
22 I'm Jane Hughson, mayor of the city of San Marcos, Texas.  
23 Thank you for the opportunity to participate in today's  
24 hearing. My request is simple, please keep San Marcos in  
25 one senate district. This is with no disrespect to

1 anyone who has represented us past or present. Right now  
2 we are also split into two congressional districts, and I  
3 don't know the outcome of that. We are opposed to  
4 splitting in any way. We're a town of 69,000 people.  
5 We're home to Texas State University with 38,000  
6 students, many of whom live in San Marcos. We're a  
7 desirable city with our San Marcos River, the longest  
8 continuously inhabited location in North America for over  
9 12,000 years is what the archaeologists tell us. Many  
10 university students stay and make their home in  
11 San Marcos, so we're home to many young professionals.  
12 We have an young population, and as such, over 70 percent  
13 of our population are renters, which means they tend to  
14 move which often means they move from one district to  
15 another. It's hard for people to keep up with who  
16 represents them when it likely changes when you move.  
17 It's also harder for our elected representatives to keep  
18 up with us. It's tough for a voter to keep up with all  
19 the issues let alone multiple representative, so we ask  
20 that you make the district the easy part. I understand  
21 the first map presented keeps San Marcos whole and I ask  
22 you to stick with that one. Splitting is a bad idea, but  
23 the way the proposal that I have in front of me is split  
24 really is not going to make sense to the voters, and  
25 they're not going to be able to keep up with who

1           represents them. Thank you for the opportunity to  
2           address this issue today and thank you for listening.

3                   SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you, Mayor. And I  
4           drive by San Marcos all the time every time I drive down  
5           to South Texas, deep south Texas, and I'm always amazed  
6           of the growth that's taken place in San Marcos and your  
7           great Texas State University.

8                   JANE HUGHSON: Thank you. Thank you.

9                   SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you. Deborah Spell.  
10           Deborah Spell. Identify yourself, who you represent and  
11           then you may proceed.

12                   DEBORAH SPELL: Good morning. My name is  
13           Deborah Spell. I'm vice president of public affairs with  
14           the Sagasse Media Group. I was elected to serve on the  
15           census complete count committee and the redistricting  
16           task force in Arlington, which is located in  
17           Tarrant County.

18                   One person, one vote. Representation should  
19           be determined by the voters in that contiguous  
20           geographical district, not by legislative gerrymandering.  
21           I am opposed to the proposed drawing of SD10. It is  
22           imperative that this district remain within the same  
23           boundaries the Court ordered in 2012. SD10 is the only  
24           crossover minority coalition district in Tarrant County.  
25           The demographics are 32.2 percent Hispanic, 21.5 percent

1 Black, 39.5 percent Anglo. Dismantling SD10 is a direct  
2 violation of the 14th and 15th Amendment of the  
3 Constitution. The Supreme Court stated that the  
4 destruction of a crossover district is a violation of the  
5 Constitution in Bartlett versus Strickland. In 2012,  
6 the federal court ruled that SD10's 2011 map was  
7 intentionally discriminatory and negatively impacted  
8 minority voters. The 2020 census reflects that it's not  
9 necessary to make any changes in the map. Black and  
10 Hispanic voting coalitions and Anglo crossover voters  
11 controlled electoral outcome in SD10. Enacting the  
12 proposed map, dilutes the voting power of SD10 and will  
13 result in wasted legal fees paid by taxpayers. As a  
14 resident of Arlington's SD22 and House District 101, I  
15 know what it's like being unrepresented since the last  
16 census and redistricting moved me from SD9 to SD22.  
17 Arlington is an urban area, and we have -- we are in a  
18 rural district that does not serve our interests or  
19 values. The only change with the present SD10 map that I  
20 suggest would be to relocate and include the Arlington  
21 area that I'm located in in SD22 to SD10. Without  
22 representation that reflects our interests, values, we  
23 are voiceless. I implore this committee to do the right  
24 thing. Don't manipulate the maps to give an unfair  
25 advantage to your candidates. Allow voters to elect the

1 candidate to represent us. Draw fair maps that give  
2 minorities an equal voice. Please listen to all the  
3 people and organizations that have taken their time to  
4 testify against the horrendous maps that this committee  
5 has proposed. Accept the maps these organizations and  
6 individuals submitted in fairness. Transparency through  
7 public hearings will reinforce your commitment to  
8 integrity and fairness and the democratic process.  
9 Thank you for your time today. I'm a proud member of  
10 Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, which had a very heavy  
11 presence in this area. And I do hope that you listen to  
12 what people have said. Thank you.

13 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you. We appreciate  
14 your testimony. I'll call one more witness and then  
15 we'll go to Dr. Potter. Kenneth Sanders.  
16 Kenneth Sanders. Dr. Potter. Oh, I'm sorry,  
17 Mr. Sanders, I apologize --

18 KENNETH SANDERS: I do apologize.

19 SENATOR HINOJOSA: You're on.

20 KENNETH SANDERS: But I thank you for your  
21 time today. Hello. My name is Kenneth Sanders. I'm a  
22 judge in Tarrant County in Precinct 7. I'm here in  
23 opposition of Senate Bill 4, the proposed state senate  
24 maps.

25 In 2018 I ran for justice of the peace, and I

won with the support of southeast Tarrant County voters of color. In fact, throughout all of southeast Tarrant County, voters of color spoke clearly in the 2018 election when we came together and not only elected myself but also Devan Allen to Tarrant County commissioners court and Beverly Powell to state senate in District 10. The same story played out in 2020 when voters of colors united in all Arlington and elected Ruby Woolridge to Arlington City Council at-large, Michael Evans as mayor of Mansfield, and Constable Sandra Lee and Robert McGinty to Precinct's 7 and 2. All of these candidates who won are African American, and all were elected by African Americans, Hispanics and Asian American voters when they came together to elect candidates of their choice.

Southeast Tarrant County including Mansfield,  
Arlington, Grand Prairie are growing in diverse areas.  
Over the last decade, our region has seen some of the  
most dramatic changes to our demographics of any part of  
Tarrant County. As a whole, Tarrant County saw a decline  
in the Caucasian population since 2010 and a rise in both  
the Hispanic, African American, and Asian American  
populations in that same time frame. It is no surprise  
that the demographics changed and have coincided with the  
electoral changes we've seen, such as the 2018 and 2020

1 results I mentioned earlier in my testimony. My precinct  
2 encompasses much of State Senate District 10, which  
3 Senate Bill 4 is proposing to destroy. The plan is  
4 intended to silence the same voters of color who have  
5 been paramount in the shifting election landscape in  
6 Tarrant County. The proposed senate plan became even  
7 worse over the last couple of days with the proposed  
8 cracking of State Senate District 10. Too many of my  
9 constituents are already in senate district -- anchored  
10 in Waco where their voices are diluted. Instead of  
11 recognizing the growing voting strength of voters of  
12 color in Tarrant County by adding -- by adding them to  
13 districts where their voices cannot be heard. You once  
14 said create a crooked billy club that comes into  
15 Tarrant County to nearly quadruple the number of  
16 Tarrant County's non-Anglo residents cracked in the  
17 Senate District 22 so their voices can be drowned with  
18 rural White voters to the south. This is all  
19 intentional.

20 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Please wrap it up, Judge.  
21 Your time is up.

22 KENNETH SANDERS: Time is running short to fix  
23 your mistakes. Voters of color in Tarrant County are  
24 watching, and we will not be used as a throw-away vote  
25 and have our voices drowned out by rural voters over a

hundred miles away. My testimony and the testimony of my Tarrant County colleagues have provided this committee with a clear blueprint of what our county looks like where voters of color live and how we vote together to elect candidates of our choice. It is now up to you to decide if you will intentionally ignore us. I want to thank you for your time, and I am available for any questions you may have.

SENATOR HINOJOSA: There are no questions at this moment, Judge, but we appreciate your testimony.

KENNETH SANDERS: All right. Thank you, sir.  
Have a good day.

SENATOR HINOJOSA: We will next have a resource witness, Dr. Potter. Dr. Potter, please come up, and I think Senator Alvarado has some questions to ask of you. And after she finishes, I will see if there are any other members that wish to ask you any other questions.

LLOYD POTTER: My name is Lloyd Potter. I'm the Texas state demographer.

SENATOR HINOJOSA: Senator Alvarado.

SENATOR ALVARADO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Dr. Potter, thank you for your patience and for being with us and in the past hearings as well. Earlier this year when we had the regional hearings in January and

1       February, you have -- you gave us a lot of good  
2       information on the estimated population growth and the  
3       changes in Texas over the last decade. And now that we  
4       have the official census numbers, I wanted you to provide  
5       an update, so I'm going to ask many questions for you so  
6       just bear with me. I had an opportunity to review your  
7       latest set of numbers and information and maps. If the  
8       chair is amenable, I'd like for him at some point to  
9       provide that document to the committee. I would ask that  
10      it be made available.

11                   SENATOR HINOJOSA: We'll make sure it is,  
12                   Senator Alvarado.

13                   SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. Thank you. Let's  
14       start with the statewide numbers. How did Texas's  
15       population change according to the 2020 census?

16                   LLOYD POTTER: Texas added more people than  
17       any other state, just under 4 million, 3,999,944 and  
18       that's also a rapid increase. We grew at a rate of  
19       15.9 percent over the decade. That's faster than any  
20       other state except for Idaho and Utah.

21                   SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. What percentage of  
22       this growth did Texans of color represent?

23                   LLOYD POTTER: A little more than 95 percent  
24       of the growth is from -- is -- can be attributed to  
25       people who identify as racial or ethnic minorities.

1 SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. Of the nearly  
2 4 million new Texans, how many were non-Hispanic White?

3 LLOYD POTTER: Of the almost 4 million,  
4 187,252 were non-Hispanic White.

5 SENATOR ALVARADO: 187,000.

6 LLOYD POTTER: Yeah. I'm sorry, 187,252.

7 SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. And of the 4 million  
8 new Texans, how many were Hispanic?

9 LLOYD POTTER: Approaching 2 million, so  
10 1,980,796.

11 SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. And how many of the  
12 4 million new Texans are Black?

13 LLOYD POTTER: A little more than half a  
14 million, 557,887.

15 SENATOR ALVARADO: And Asian?

16 LLOYD POTTER: Surprisingly, the Asian  
17 population -- well, I don't know how surprising it is,  
18 but it's really growing quickly. So there were 613,092  
19 additional persons who identify as Asian.

20 SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. In terms of the  
21 total population as of 2020, we have about 29.1 million  
22 Texans. What percent of the total population do  
23 non-Hispanic Whites, Hispanics, Blacks and Asians make  
24 up?

25 LLOYD POTTER: Could you say that one more

1 time?

2 SENATOR ALVARADO: Sure. The total population  
3 most recent that we have, we have -- we have about  
4 29.1 million Texans.

5 LLOYD POTTER: Right.

6 SENATOR ALVARADO: What percentage of this  
7 total population are non-Hispanic Whites, Hispanic,  
8 Blacks, and Asians make up and how has that changed since  
9 the 2010 census?

10 LLOYD POTTER: Okay. So the Latino population  
11 is now 39.3 percent of the total population. That's an  
12 increase over the decade from in 2010, 37.6 percent.  
13 African American is pretty stable in terms of  
14 its percent. It's currently 11 -- or for the 2010 census  
15 11.8 percent where it was 11.5 in 2010. Asian is now  
16 5.4 percent. It was 3.8 percent. And then the  
17 non-Hispanic White population percentage has declined  
18 from 45.3 percent in 2010 to 39.7. So the Latino  
19 population and the non-Hispanic White population as of  
20 the census were pretty close to even in terms of numbers  
21 and just the trends that we -- we see and the projections  
22 from my office. We would say that -- I would say that  
23 the Latino population is probably a parity now because  
24 these numbers are April 1, 2010, or maybe slightly  
25 exceeding or if it's not, it will be here pretty soon in

1                   the coming months.

2                   SENATOR ALVARADO: So they are like neck and  
3                   neck kind of?

4                   LLOYD POTTER: Yeah.

5                   SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. Let's go to changes  
6                   at the county level. You have a map, I believe it's on  
7                   page 8 that shows 143 of our counties have lost  
8                   populations since 2010. What were those ten counties?

9                   LLOYD POTTER: Well, if we look at 143,  
10                  generally speaking, the counties that are losing  
11                  population are rural counties, and those that are gaining  
12                  population are those that are in the urban and -- urban  
13                  corners and the suburban ring counties around them,  
14                  generally speaking.

15                  SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. And then you also  
16                  have another map that shows -- well, let me just ask  
17                  about that. Which counties saw the largest increase?

18                  LLOYD POTTER: Okay. Let me find --

19                  SENATOR ALVARADO: In the Houston region and  
20                  the --

21                  LLOYD POTTER: So the counties that grew the  
22                  most, Harris County grew more than any other county in  
23                  Texas. Tarrant County was second. Harris County added  
24                  638,686. And I won't go and read all of the numbers.  
25                  The information I provided to the committee will have a

1       table in there with this information with the detailed  
2       data. Bexar County was third. Collin County just north  
3       of Dallas fourth. Travis County fifth. Dallas sixth.  
4       Denton seventh. Fort Bend tenth -- eighth. Williamson  
5       ninth and Montgomery tenth. So essentially all the  
6       counties that contributed the most population are in  
7       either the urban core counties, what we refer to as  
8       population triangle counties, and those large counties,  
9       rapidly growing counties right around those.

10           SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. So it looks like I  
11       guess Harris County accounts for about 16 percent of the  
12       growth of the counties?

13           LLOYD POTTER: Yes. I think Harris County  
14       probably -- yes, I think Harris County is about  
15       16 percent of the total growth. The growth that we saw  
16       in Harris County could be -- we can attribute about  
17       16 percent of the total growth in the state to the growth  
18       that occurred in Harris County.

19           SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. Which county saw the  
20       largest increase in the DFW regions, Collin, Dallas  
21       Denton and Tarrant?

22           LLOYD POTTER: Tarrant County added more  
23       population in the DFW area. It added a little more than  
24       300,000. And Collin County was at 282 -- 282,000. So  
25       both those counties just north of Dallas and

1           Tarrant counties were the ones that added the most  
2           population.

3                   SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. What are the ten  
4           counties that lost the most non-Hispanic White  
5           population, and what are the regions of the state that  
6           lost the most?

7                   LLOYD POTTER: Okay. So non-Hispanic White  
8           population, Dallas County had the most significant loss  
9           of the non-Hispanic White population. Their loss  
10           approaching 60,000. So 59,706 non-Hispanic Whites.  
11           Harris County is not too far behind. It lost a little  
12           more than 40,000 non-Hispanic Whites. Tarrant, 32,000  
13           non-Hispanic Whites decline. And then the other -- so  
14           those are kind of the urban core counties there, and then  
15           the others are kind of dispersed around the state and  
16           they tend to be like Jefferson County, which is just kind  
17           of close to the Texas-Louisiana border down by the Gulf.  
18           Wichita, which is up northwest of the Dallas-Fort Worth  
19           area on the Oklahoma border. Potter County, which is my  
20           favorite county, is just north of Lubbock and Amarillo.  
21           Hidalgo, so Lower Rio Grande Valley. El Paso way out  
22           west. Cameron, Lower Rio Grande Valley. So the -- with  
23           the exception of these urban core counties, the counties  
24           that lost the most non-Hispanic White tended to be  
25           dispersed around the state and fairly rural counties. I

1       wouldn't say rural-rural, but not large urban core  
2       counties.

3                     SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. And what are the ten  
4       counties that gained the most non-Hispanic White  
5       population?

6                     LLOYD POTTER: So Travis County added the most  
7       non-Hispanic Whites, a little over 90,000.

8       Williamson County just north of Travis, a  
9       little -- almost 67,000. Denton County added almost  
10      59,000, so Denton just north of Tarrant County. Collin  
11      County added almost 49,000. Montgomery added 46 -- a  
12      little more than 46,000. Fort Bend, a little more than  
13      32,000. And then Hays and Comal, which are the two  
14      counties in between Austin and San Antonio, Hays added  
15      29 -- a little more than 29,000. Comal a little more  
16      than 27,000. So with the exception of Travis County,  
17      those counties that were gaining non-Hispanic White  
18      population tended to be the suburban ring counties that  
19      are growing very rapidly.

20                   SENATOR ALVARADO: Thank you. What are the  
21      ten counties that lost the most Hispanic population?

22                   DR. POTTER: Well, there weren't -- there  
23      wasn't dramatic -- because the Latino population is  
24      growing very significantly and quickly in the state.  
25      There weren't -- there wasn't any counties that lost a

1       lot of Hispanics, but those that did, so Duval County  
2       lost almost 2,500. Zavala, which is south slightly west  
3       of San Antonio lost about 2,000. Willacy 1. -- 1,686.  
4       Presidio 1,530. I can go down the list, but essentially  
5       they tend to be pretty rural counties that are generally  
6       historically have a majority of the population being  
7       Hispanic.

8                   SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. And in the  
9       reverse -- inverse, I'm sorry, what are the ten counties  
10      that gained the most Hispanic population?

11                  LLOYD POTTER: So Harris County added the  
12      most -- most persons of Hispanic descent so that was  
13      363,000, a little more than that. Bexar County added an  
14      additional 184,000, then Dallas 151,895, Tarrant 137,930.  
15      So those are -- those are the big core counties. And  
16      then Hidalgo County down in the Lower Rio Grande Valley  
17      almost 98,000. Travis County another urban core county,  
18      of course, added a little more than 78,000. And then the  
19      other counties that were -- added a lot of Latinos are  
20      suburban ring counties, which are Montgomery County by  
21      Houston, Denton County, Fort Bend County, and then the  
22      last one El Paso.

23                  SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. What are the ten  
24      counties that lost the most Black population, and then  
25      what are the counties that gained the most Black

1 population?

2                   LLOYD POTTER: So, again, the numbers in terms  
3 of loss are somewhat similar magnitude when we look at  
4 Hispanic because the Black population has been growing  
5 pretty steadily and significantly in the state. And  
6 they're by in large, when you look at them, many of them  
7 are rural counties or not -- or counties that don't have  
8 large urbanized areas in them and they tend to be in the  
9 eastern part of the state, and that would be Rusk County  
10 lost a little more a thousand African Americans.

11                 Liberty County a little more than a thousand. Cherokee  
12 County a little more than a thousand. Nacogdoches a  
13 little more than a thousand. Houston a little less than  
14 a thousand. I can go on but they kind of --

15                 SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. Yeah, I get the gist  
16 of it. Okay. I would like to talk about senate  
17 districts, which will be the last set of questions.  
18 Which senate districts have the most population and what  
19 regions of the state are they in?

20                 LLOYD POTTER: Say that one more time, which  
21 senate district --

22                 SENATOR ALVARADO: Which senate districts have  
23 the most population and what region of the state are they  
24 in?

25                 LLOYD POTTER: It may take me a second on that

1 one.

2 SENATOR ALVARADO: I think that's page 17 to  
3 20, I think.

4 LLOYD POTTER: Yeah, I think -- so let me say  
5 what -- let me articulate how I've estimated the  
6 population in the current senate districts. I took the  
7 redistricting file, which is produced with the smallest  
8 level of geography. It's the block -- the census block,  
9 and then using GIS software, intersected that with the  
10 current boundaries that I received from the Texas  
11 legislative council's websites. Those boundaries --  
12 because the census blocks changed from 2010 to 2020, some  
13 of those boundaries intersected census blocks. And so  
14 what we did when a -- a boundary intersected a new census  
15 block, we split the population across districts. So  
16 that's the fuzziness in the estimates that we have for  
17 the current senate districts. With that said, I think it  
18 was senate district -- it looks like Senate District 25  
19 has the most, which is the Travis County area or actually  
20 between San Antonio and Austin and Travis County. Let me  
21 see. I should have sorted these, I suppose, by size. It  
22 looks like 12 maybe is the second largest, which is -- I  
23 think that's up in -- up into Denton County and then  
24 Tarrant. Then the rest -- we've got a number of other  
25 ones that are fairly large. Five, I think, is probably

1                   the next.

2                   SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay.

3                   LLOYD POTTER: So I'm not sure if I'm  
4                   going where you would like me to go with that.

5                   SENATOR ALVARADO: What districts have the  
6                   least population and where are those?

7                   LLOYD POTTER: Yeah. So the smaller ones are  
8                   the ones that are kind of -- essentially, I think the  
9                   idea here is -- is that -- that we were just recently  
10                  talking about counties that lost population and so on.  
11                  And so the -- essentially some of the districts  
12                  have -- that have lost population, I'd say the smaller  
13                  ones are Senate District 1, 28, and 27. There might be  
14                  another one that I would list there.

15                  SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay.

16                  LLOYD POTTER: Maybe -- yeah, I think that's  
17                  right.

18                  SENATOR ALVARADO: Which senate districts are  
19                  within the ideal population and don't need to change  
20                  geographically?

21                  LLOYD POTTER: So those -- so looking at the  
22                  ideal size of a senate district and subtracting 5 percent  
23                  and adding 5 percent, those districts that fall within  
24                  that range as they currently are is Senate District 2,  
25                  22, 24, 19, 21, 20, and I think I already said 2, 16, 9,

1 10 and --

2 SENATOR ALVARADO: Okay. That's okay. I  
3 can --

4 LLOYD POTTER: I'm sorry?

5 SENATOR ALVARADO: I can look at the map. You  
6 have given me enough.

7 LLOYD POTTER: Again, I'll distribute that to  
8 the -- or give that to the clerk, so it will be  
9 distributed to the committee.

10 SENATOR ALVARADO: And then one final thing,  
11 are you concerned about the undercount in any particular  
12 area by race or ethnicity or --

13 LLOYD POTTER: Yeah, I mean, I think,  
14 certainly if we -- if look at the 2010 census, you know,  
15 there were segments of the population that there is  
16 strong evidence that they were undercounted. Generally  
17 speaking, minority populations are undercounted, in  
18 particular Latino and African American and particularly  
19 young African Americans, children. Young children tend  
20 to be undercounted, and then we also see higher rates of  
21 undercount among -- in areas where there is a  
22 high percentage of the population living in rental  
23 housing, where there is a large or a significant  
24 foreign-born population and also where language isn't the  
25 first language spoken at home. And there are a whole

1 range of other things associated with it, but the ones  
2 I've just listed are the most commonly articulated ones  
3 and identified ones. We won't really have a sense of  
4 undercount for the 2020 census until probably some time  
5 in 2022. The Census Bureau is currently conducting what  
6 is referred to as a post-enumeration survey, and that's  
7 the main tool that we use for accessing undercount.  
8 There's a couple of other tools that we're looking at  
9 right now, but those are the ones that really allow us to  
10 get at the most specific characteristics in terms of  
11 undercount. So we won't really know that until some time  
12 next year.

13 SENATOR ALVARADO: Thank you for your work and  
14 I appreciate you taking the time to answer my questions.

15 LLOYD POTTER: Thank you.

16 SENATOR ALVARADO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

17 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Senator Zaffirini.

18 SENATOR ZAFFIRINI: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

19 Dr. Potter, would you agree that all the senatorial  
20 districts along the border starting in the Valley going  
21 all the way to El Paso undercounting the population?

22 LLOYD POTTER: I'm sorry. There were?

23 SENATOR ZAFFIRINI: Would you agree that all  
24 the senatorial districts along the border from the Valley  
25 to El Paso had an undercount in the census?

1                   LLOYD POTTER: I mean, I can't say that I know  
2                   that -- in the 2010 census? Yes, I would say most of  
3                   them if not all of them probably had some undercount.

4                   SENATOR ZAFFIRINI: But you don't know about  
5                   the most recent census?

6                   LLOYD POTTER: No, we don't. We don't have  
7                   that. As I was just mentioning to Senator Alvarado, we  
8                   won't really know that until this post-enumeration survey  
9                   is completed and we're able to kind of assess that  
10                  relative to the count.

11                  SENATOR ZAFFIRINI: Based on your expertise  
12                  and what you've stated about the kinds of communities  
13                  that had an undercount, would it be your best estimate  
14                  that those senatorial districts were undercounted?

15                  LLOYD POTTER: I would be surprised if we  
16                  didn't see higher rates of undercount in many of the  
17                  Valley counties, yes.

18                  SENATOR ZAFFIRINI: Not just the Valley, but  
19                  the whole border region?

20                  LLOYD POTTER: Yep, pretty much the whole  
21                  border region.

22                  SENATOR ZAFFIRINI: From the Valley to  
23                  El Paso?

24                  LLOYD POTTER: Yep, largely because of the  
25                  characteristics of the population there, yes.

1 SENATOR ZAFFIRINI: Are there any other  
2 regions of the state that would be subject to a  
3 generalization of that nature?

4 LLOYD POTTER: I think we're probably in some  
5 of the urban core parts of the city where we have  
6 significant concentrations of African American population  
7 especially young male African Americans. And then also  
8 parts of the urbanized areas that have a large percentage  
9 of the population that are renters. We're concerned  
10 about how the census was conducted because of the  
11 pandemic and what we refer to as group quarters in  
12 particular with colleges and universities. So I'd have  
13 some concern about undercount in -- in kind of university  
14 type -- where there's a large student population because  
15 that kind of really made some difficult issues for the  
16 Census Bureau.

17 SENATOR ZAFFIRINI: Thank you. Is it within  
18 the realm of your expertise to address the issue of how  
19 the undercount should be addressed in terms of  
20 determining the acceptable deviation from the ideal  
21 population for a senatorial district?

22 LLOYD POTTER: That's probably outside of  
23 my -- I mean, I can -- I can look at numerically. I'm  
24 not -- I don't render decisions on things, but I can  
25 certainly -- we could look at issues of undercount and

1       how that might -- might affect, you know, different kinds  
2       of outcomes, but we don't render about that.

3                     SENATOR ZAFFIRINI: Thank you, sir.

4                     Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5                     SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you,  
6       Senator Zaffirini. I think that's the only questions we  
7       have today, but thank you, Dr. Potter, always for being  
8       so knowledgeable about the census and the districts and  
9       the numbers.

10                  LLOYD POTTER: Okay. Thank you.

11                  SENATOR HINOJOSA: We'll get back to calling  
12       some of the witnesses. We have Genevieve Van Cleve,  
13       please come down. And Devan Allen. Devan Allen, please  
14       come down. I don't think we have any other cards, but  
15       we'll wait for those two witnesses to come down from the  
16       gallery so they can testify. Genevieve Van Cleve.  
17       Identify yourself and who you represent and then you may  
18       proceed when you're ready.

19                  GENEVIEVE VAN CLEVE: Okay. My name Genevieve  
20       Van Cleve. I live in Austin, Texas, and I am the state  
21       director for All on the Line. Thank you, Mr. Chairman  
22       and committee members.

23                  I work as an advocate for fair maps and a fair  
24       redistricting process because I understand that when it  
25       comes to distributing resources and power, there is

1 nothing more important than redistricting. The process  
2 is one of the last smoke-filled rooms in Texas politics.  
3 It is a process that favors the powerful and  
4 well-connected at the expense everyday Texans. My goal  
5 in being here today is not to put my thumb on the scale  
6 for a political party, but to fight for a system where  
7 the people are the beneficiaries of these proceedings.  
8 The senate map will leave hundreds of thousands of people  
9 particularly people of color out in the cold for another  
10 decade. Through my professional and personal experience,  
11 I've witnessed the harm brought to African American,  
12 Latino, and AAPI constituents because of map manipulation  
13 and voter suppression efforts. Gerrymandering continues  
14 to dilute these voices and votes. There is no evidence  
15 that multiple representatives who don't live in your  
16 district, don't share your background or values results  
17 in better policy outcomes. For example, six members of  
18 congress touch Travis County. We do not feel more  
19 represented. In fact, three members of the Travis County  
20 delegation didn't vote to certify the 2020 election,  
21 while 70 percent of Travis County voted for  
22 President Biden. To be clear, splitting communities of  
23 interest does not result in better representation on the  
24 finance committee or anywhere else. Gerrymandering is  
25 why the overwhelming cost for Winter Storm Uri are being

1       picked up by taxpayers instead of the industry and why  
2       the state refuses to carry out its duty to protect the  
3       public good. Gerrymandering allows for politicians to  
4       ignore the needs of people and instead cater to special  
5       interests and business needs. Administrative hurdles and  
6       a lack of transparency have choked participation in the  
7       redistricting process by the people who call Texas home.  
8       There has been no sustained information about these  
9       hearings released to the public. Unless you are a  
10      lawyer, lobbyist, a legislator, or an advocate, I'm not  
11      sure how you would know when, where, or how to  
12      participate in these redistricting hearings. I ask that  
13      you follow the spirit and the letter of the law. Don't  
14      dilute the votes and voices of communities of color.  
15      Don't pack the cities or crack the suburbs. Respect  
16      communities of color, and most of all respect the people  
17      of Texas. Thank you.

18                     SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you. We appreciate  
19       your testimony. Devan Allen, county commissioner.  
20       Identify yourself and who you respect and then you may  
21       proceed when you're ready.

22                     DEVAN ALLEN: Great. Thank you. Good  
23       morning, members. My name Devan Allen testifying on  
24       behalf of myself and against SB4. I am honored to serve  
25       on the commissioners court for Tarrant County,

1       Precinct 2, and as the first African American elected to  
2       do so, African American woman. My district includes the  
3       cities of Arlington, Mansfield, Pantego, Dalworthington  
4       Gardens, Kingsville, and a large part of the city of  
5       Grand Prairie that lies within Tarrant County. It  
6       overlaps with a large part of Senate District 10 with  
7       significant parts of Congressional District 6 and 33. My  
8       own commissioner district, Precinct 2, is experiencing  
9       rapid minority growth. After the 2010 census, my  
10      district was 51.5 percent Anglo voting-age population.  
11      Today, following the 2020 census, my district has dropped  
12      to only 40.1 percent Anglo voting-age population. The  
13      increase in minority voting strength in Tarrant resulted  
14      in my election in 2018 along with other African American  
15      representatives since whose districts are predominantly  
16      within Senate District 10, including Arlington ISD board  
17      trustee Kecia Mays; Kenneth Sanders justice of the peace,  
18      who you heard from earlier this morning; Tarrant County  
19      Constable Sandra Lee; Tarrant County Constable  
20      Robert McGinty; mayor of Mansfield, Michael Evans, who  
21      you've heard from yesterday; Tarrant County College  
22      trustee Leonard Hornsby; and Arlington councilwomen  
23      Ruby Woolridge, who you heard from, as well as  
24      Dr. Barbara Odom-Wesley. All of us, African American  
25      candidates, won because the voters chose us over the

1       Anglo-preferred candidate. Senate District 10 has been  
2       performing as a minority coalition crossover district and  
3       should be preserved. Your attempt to dismantle it is  
4       deliberate, intentional, and done along racial lines to  
5       punish the hard work that minorities have put in  
6       throughout the decade to elect our candidates of choice.  
7       In your proposed map, you took the fast-growing African  
8       American and Hispanic areas of Tarrant County, who had  
9       worked hard to elect their candidate of choice in SD10  
10      and other offices, and cracked them into senate districts  
11      that are overpowered by Anglo ex-urban and rural voters.  
12      In the new SD22 a king like -- a king-cobra-like opinion,  
13      rather, is shoved into Tarrant County from the south,  
14      nearly doubles the Black population taking SD22 from  
15      38,314 African Americans to 63,703 African Americans.  
16      This population all came out of SD10. As a Black woman  
17      whose district contains this part of the country, it is  
18      an insult to me and to my constituents to see and  
19      comprehend that this might be the result of an official  
20      State policy of racial discrimination. If you look at  
21      that jagged line you drew that cuts up Arlington, you can  
22      see that you cut along racial lines where all precincts  
23      currently in Senate District 10 with over 25 percent  
24      Black voting-age population are removed, and precincts in  
25      Arlington with the largest Black populations cracked into

1 SD22 and 23. You are looking for the dividing line based  
2 on race, and this ugly display of racial segregation was  
3 intentional. I am wrapping up my remarks soon. You  
4 cleaved Mansfield into two district putting 65 percent of  
5 the Black population in SD10 and drowning it out of White  
6 voters in Parker and Johnson County and the remaining  
7 35 percent of the Black population in SD22. And what is  
8 surgical and intentional intrusion and jags and splinters  
9 up from the south and anchored in Waco. I've testified  
10 before to request and implore you to preserve SD10 as an  
11 effective performing minority coalition crossover  
12 district as is required under the Voting Rights Act and  
13 Constitution. I have walked you through in detail where  
14 the minority growth was occurring so that you could avoid  
15 yet other SD10 finding of intentional discrimination in  
16 federal court.

17 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Please wrap up.

18 DEVAN ALLEN: Yes, sir. And still you knew  
19 what you were doing when you cracked minority populations  
20 in this proposed map. The good news is it is not too  
21 late to reverse course and reinstate SD10. I've provided  
22 each of you with a copy of my written testimony -- or I  
23 will, rather, and I ask again that you enact the senate  
24 map that isn't intentionally discriminatory and actually  
25 this is incredibly easy to do. Thank you. I appreciate

1 your time.

2 SENATOR HINOJOSA: Thank you. We appreciate  
3 your testimony. Those are all the witness cards that we  
4 have. So I'll ask is anyone present who would like to  
5 testify for, on, or against Senate Bill 4 and  
6 Senate Bill 7? If not, public testimony is closed, and  
7 I'll turn back the gavel to Madam Chair Huffman.

8 SENATOR HUFFMAN: Thank you very much  
9 Senator Hinojosa for chairing today, much appreciated.  
10 Members, that concludes all the cards and all the  
11 witnesses that we have today. I would like to remind  
12 everyone that as I've said repeatedly, anyone with a  
13 different proposal should file their alternative by  
14 10:00 a.m. tomorrow and we will consider everything that  
15 is brought before the committee. So we will be watching  
16 for those amendments and with -- and I will post when the  
17 next hearing will be. At this point I don't have an  
18 announcement to make. So with that, the Senate Committee  
19 on Redistricting will stand in recess subject to the call  
20 of the chair.

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1           I, REBECCA FARRIS, a competent court reporter and  
2           disinterested person, transcribed the pre-recorded  
3           video/audio proceedings.

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5           Dated November 24, 2021.

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7           Electronically signed/Rebecca Farris

8

9           Rebecca Farris  
Stenographic Court Reporter

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